1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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daily tasks, whether on their own *milpas*[1] on the margins of the town or in *haciendas*, mills, or mines still farther away, tne male inhabitants scatter outside the village, returning at the end of the day, the week, or the season. But while the villagers live by agriculture, the village lives by trade. It is essentially a market, and the central *plaza*, where occur the periodic markets attended by people from other villages and where are situated all the public buildings and the private dwellings of size and importance, dominates and affords a focus for the town. The village, like Mexico itself, has a center and a periphery.

The state of Morelos lies upon the southern escarpment. It is the only state which lies entirely upon the slope; it forms one steep stairway up to the tableland. It is a small state, about the size of Delaware, but in its brief extent there is a descent of eight thousand feet. Its northern margin, the Sierra of Ajusco, which forms the southern rim of the great central basin, is a region of pine forests, chill winds, and charcoal-burners, while in the southern part of the state are tropical lowlands which produce coconuts and malaria.

Although only a small part of the state contains arable land,[2] nevertheless among the steep confusion of the mountains there are many sloping valleys which contain good soil and either receive sufficient rain or are watered by streams which arise in higher and wet-

[1] Small agricultural tracts cultivated by individuals for their own benefit.

[2] About 10 per cent, according to Francisco Bulnes, *The Whole Truth about Mexico*, p. 88.

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the afternoon) she brings the clothes. Candles are lit before the *crèche* and burning copal is set before it. The godfather brings rockets, and often a bottle of wine. The rockets are discharged outside the house while the godmother dresses the image. Everyone is given a drink of wine. The image is placed on a tray and passed around for everyone to kiss. Then follows the dinner traditional for birthdays and *sacamisas:* rice, *mole poblano*, and beans.

February 5.—Today is the anniversary of the signing of the constitution. But this is a national patriotic *fiesta* and of little importance in Tepoztlán. The schoolmaster discharges his obligation toward the school children by parading them with flags and perhaps making to them a patriotic speech. There may be music by some orchestra from the valley in the kiosk in the *plaza*. But most people in Tepoztlán have no notion of what day it is, and observe it not at all.

The dry season is now well advanced. The foliage has lost much of its brilliance, and the silk-cotton trees have shed all their leaves. The paths and streets are thick with dust now, and the pigs gather around the public washing stones where puddles of water may still be found. Occasionally great winds enter the valley and rage around the high-walled basin, clouding the contours of the hills and pulling tiles from off roofs. Then people stay in their houses and shut the doors to protect themselves from the dust.

There is nothing to be done in the *milpas*. The coffee is all picked and dried. There are some who

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*796 San Pedro is too small to supply enough, but they are
535 instructed by a *maestro* in San Pedro. They wear em-
[292] broidered skirts, silk neckerchiefs, and small paper crowns surmounted by a black ostrich-feather plume. They dance around a tall pole and in dancing interweave colored ribbons.[1] They do not sing.

*796 A *castillo del día* is burned; everyone of the *barrio*
[541] eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[262] *April 30 and May 1.*—These days form the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* of the *fiesta* just passed.

[794] *May 2.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa
[533] Cruz on this day.

May 3.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of
[541] Santa Cruz. It is not an important *fiesta*. There is a
[262] *castillo de la noche* and of course the people of the barrio eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[778] This day is also the day on which crosses are raised at street corners, above water tanks, on conspicuous hills. The crosses are hung with flowers and copal is
[333] burned before them. It is also the day specially de-
[541] voted to the masons, who sometimes set off rockets to celebrate.[2]

●132 The first of the rains have come now, occasional and
133 uncertain showers. Only at *Axihtla*, the cleft in the hills where arises the *barranca* of San Jeronimo, does fresh bright green appear, and in parts of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo, better watered than other regions.

[1] This "May Pole" is not necessarily European in origin. Sahagun refers to such a dance.

[2] The *fiesta* of the masons is generally celebrated in Mexico City.

[Le LOS DANZANTES of the fiesta of San Pedro - ANALYST]

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of booths at which are being sold fruit, cakes, notions, ices, drinks, green corn.[1] People have come from distant *pueblos* to sell the products of their domestic industry—little painted clay toys and whistles. At the gateway to the churchyard one may buy wax candles for the *santo*.

The *chirimía* is playing at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo;* this is set off the evening of the first day.

May 9–15.—The remainder of the week is devoted to secular entertainment: cockfights, horse races, and three days of *toros*.

June 11.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of La Santísima and with it plays the *teponaztli* owned by that *barrio*.

June 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Santísima. It is not an important *fiesta*. The people of the *barrio* eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Now the rains have come. Every afternoon the clouds gather over the rim of the valley and the hills are hidden in a low roof of mist. The slopes run with cascades and jets of rain. The air is wet and soft. The ground, long dry and barren, is covered with bright green, and every cranny in the rocks has its unrolling fern.

The rains are brought by the *ahuahque*,[2] "the lords of the rain." They hurl the thunderbolts; the stone beads and spindle whorls one picks up were thrown by

[1] Brought from lower altitudes where it is already ripe.

[2] The *ahuahque* are also referred to as *tlatlatcuapone*, "those who thunder," and as *tlapetani*, "those who cause lightning."

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796 Those who have dead to commemorate carry candles.
769 These are lit on the graves. Prayers and responses are
782 said there, and the party remains until eight in the evening. For the responses the priest is given money by all who celebrate their dead.

243 In December the rains have stopped and the air is
[132] very clear. The corn is ripe now, and the harvest begins. The roads are dusty from the feet of men, *burros*, and horses, going to the fields with empty sacks or returning to the village with loads of maize. In the fields groups of men move along the rows, removing the ears from the stalks. A broad needle of wood or iron is suspended from each wrist and used to slit the husks away from the ears. The husks and stalks are left as they were; later groups of women will collect the husks (*totomochtli*) and bind them into bundles to
[231] be used to wrap *tamales*. Still later the stalks will be cut down with the *machete* for fodder.

243 The men always work in groups; the owner of the
476 field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequitl*[1]—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group of
[273] men has *la mulita*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done co-operatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the field supplies the food and drink. But here the co-operative harvesting ends, for

[1] See p. 146.

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the setting: 1

THE VILLAGE of Tepoztlán is in the state of Morelos, about sixty miles south of Mexico City. It is connected by a paved road with the Mexico City–Cuernavaca highway and is fifteen miles northeast of Cuernavaca. The village forms part of the municipio of Tepoztlán which embraces an area of 60,000 acres and consists of eight villages: San Juan, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, Ixcatepec, Gabriel Mariaca, San Andrés, Santiago, and Tepoztlán proper. The northern section of the municipio coincides in part with the boundary line between the state of Morelos and the Federal District. (See Fig. 2.)

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The topography of the state of Morelos can be described as a sugar bowl, tilted to the southeast, with mountains forming the outer rim and the level, fertile lands of the sugar plantations forming the center. The municipio of Tepoztlán is on the northern rim of this bowl. It extends from the rugged, mountainous, and heavily wooded country in the north, down the slope of the Ajusco Mountain range to the level, fertile lands of the sugar plantation area near Yautepec. From the northern limits near Milpa Alta to the southern limits near Yautepec, a distance of about seventeen miles, there is a drop in altitude from about 10,500 feet[1] to about 3,700. While most of the villages tend to cluster near the center of the municipio (none are found in the extreme northern or southern portions), there is nevertheless a wide range in altitude among them. Indeed, the villages are located at seven different levels. The widest range is between San Juan in the north at about 7,000 feet, and San Andrés in the south at about 4,300 feet. But even in the case of Tepoztlán and San Juan, which are less than four miles apart, one is 2,000 feet above the other. (See Fig. 3.)

The northern part of the municipio is in *tierra fría* or the cold zone; the middle part is in *tierra templada* or the temperate zone; and the southern part is in *tierra*

[1] Otlayuca, the highest point in the northern portion of the municipio, is 3,151 meters or about 10,335 feet. See *Carta General del Estado de Morelos*, Secretaría de Fomento (Mexico, D.F., 1910).

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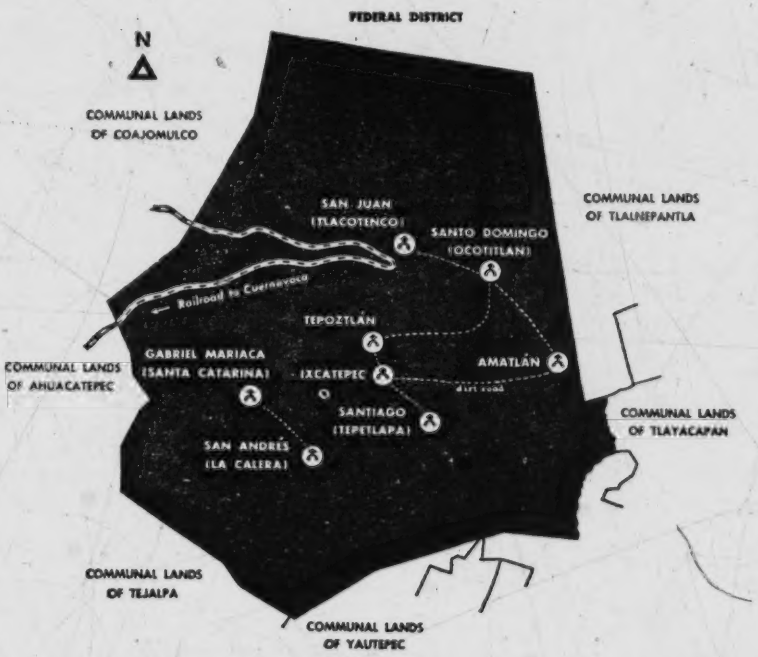

COURTESY OF DEPARTAMENTO AGRARIO, MEXICO, D.F.

Fig. 2. Tepoztlán and surrounding municipios.

caliente or the hot zone. San Juan, the highest village, is at the lower limit of *tierra fría* while San Andrés, the lowest village, is at the upper limit of *tierra caliente*. Three of the villages, Tepoztlán proper, Ixcatepec, and Amatlán, are at approximately the same level within the temperate zone. Santo Domingo is about intermediate between the cold zone and the temperate zone, and Santiago is about intermediate between the hot zone and the temperate zone.

To the north of the village is the mountainous and heavily wooded area locally known as the monte, which constitutes approximately fifty per cent of the total area of the municipio. The predominant trees are pine, fir, oak, and madroña.[2] The monte with its forest constitutes the greatest single natural resource of the municipio. It has traditionally been the source of firewood, lumber, and charcoal; and, as we shall see later, the monte has been the subject of bitter inter-village

[2] The species of trees in the monte are as follows: oak or *encino* (*Quercus reticulata*), (*Quercus albocinata*), and (*Quercus Laurinea*); fir or *ayumel* (*Abies religiosa*); pine or *ocote*, (*Pinus patula*); *Cuaxochitl* (unidentified).

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quarrels and many political struggles within the municipio and the village. Most of the monte is in *tierra fría*. Here the rainy season begins a few weeks earlier than in the lower regions, and the atmosphere is more humid because of the low hanging clouds. Here the soil is porous and unsuitable for adobe.

Most of the houses are therefore made of cane, straw, or wattle, and the majority of the roofs are made of wooden boards instead of tile as in Tepoztlán. Wooden boards are also put on the floor by those who can afford them for protection against the damp and cold. In the village of San Juan, which is in this region, corn is planted earlier, ripens later, and is less subject to the ravages of insects than in Tepoztlán

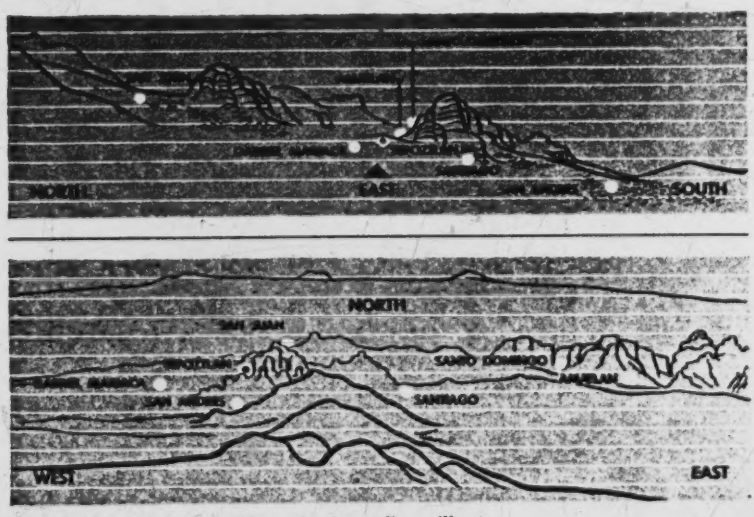

Fig. 3. Altitude of Tepoztlán and surrounding villages.

and the lower, warmer villages. Here there are no coffee trees, no hog plum, no banana, nor other tropical and semi-tropical fruits. But unlike the other villages, a little wheat, barley, lima beans, and some potatoes may be grown in San Juan. Also, *capulín*, *tejocote*, peaches, pears, and other fruits grow much better than in Tepoztlán and the lower villages. Furthermore, San Juan has no malaria.

The southern half of the municipio is divided into two parts by a ridgelike chain of hills or *cerros* which extends from the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán and continues south to divide the entire state of Morelos into its two major topographic regions, the valley of Cuernavaca and the valley of Amilpas. Within the municipio of Tepoztlán the large area of land to the west of this divide slopes gently to the southwest where it merges with the valley of Cuernavaca. This region contains the greater portion of the arable land of the municipio; and two villages, Gabriel Mariaca and San Andrés, are located here. Here, too, is the land known as

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(peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapolotzin* (peak of the butterfly), *El Tlamintepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted many tourists in recent years.

The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the *cerros.*

The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semi-tropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

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fortunate in this respect. Tepoztlán is just above the malaria area, and although some malaria occurs it is generally contracted by Tepoztecans who have been working in the lowlands. The climate of Tepoztlán is one of the most healthful in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztlán has one of the lowest death rates in the state.

The average annual temperature for the village is about 65° F. However, there are marked daily and seasonal variations. In the rainy season mornings are usually humid and cool but by midday the temperature is up to 65°. The evenings are cool. During the months of November, December, and January the nights and early mornings are much colder, and the temperature drops to 35° to 40°. The cold works hardships on the people because of the lack of warm clothing. However, even during these months the temperature rises to 65° and 70° by midday. At no time does the temperature rise above 80°. While it gets hot in the open fields under the sun, it is generally comfortable in the village because of the many shade trees on almost every house site. The daily variations in temperature and humidity are partially responsible for the high frequency of rheumatic complaints and respiratory diseases.

The rainy season begins toward the end of May or early June and generally lasts to mid-October.[7] The average annual rainfall in the village is about 60 inches, most of which comes during the five months from June to October. In June and July the rains generally come in the afternoon and last for a few hours. During these months the working day in the fields ends at about 2:00 P.M. In August and September the rains generally begin later in the afternoon and frequently last through the night. However, there is much variation within this general pattern. Although droughts are not uncommon, excessive rainfall is the more common complaint. Sometimes Tepoztecans cannot cultivate their crops with plow and oxen because of the mud.

The crucial months for the corn crop are August and September when the ears of corn are filling out. The occasional lack of rain during these months is attributed by some of the older folks to the failure of the dancers, at the fiesta in honor of the deity El Tepozteco, to carry out correctly the traditional ceremonies. The coexistence of pagan and Catholic elements in beliefs concerning rain is shown by the fact that the saints of the central church, as well as those of the barrios, are taken in procession through the village to pray for rain when necessary. Hailstorms occur in the rainy season but they are generally brief. It is a common belief among Tepoztecans that the setting off of firecrackers or the shooting of guns will stop the hail.

The dry season begins in October or November and lasts for seven long months. The earth becomes parched and many of the semi-deciduous trees lose their leaves. Water must be hauled in greater quantities for the animals, the flowers, and the young trees on the house sites. Winds from the north cause small dust storms in the village and sometimes damage the ripening corn. Respiratory diseases are more frequent during this time of the year. Because of the dry season, only one crop a

[7] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 121, for description of the rains.